

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 179820 TOSEC 080017

FOR ATHERTON AND DAY IN SECRETARY'S PARTY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L AMMAN 4335

DEPT PASS SEC PARTY FOR ATHERTON AND DAY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PBOR, PGOV, JO, PLO, US, XF

SUBJECT: TALK WITH JORDAN UN PERM REP

SUMMARY: JORDAN'S UN PERMREP AND EXPERT ON PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS,
HAZEM NUSEIBEH, SUMMARIZED FOR US HIS IDEAS ON A WEST BANK
PEACE SETTLEMENT AND PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION. ON
THE FORMER, NUSEIBEH'S APPROACH IS MODERATE,
EMPHASIZES A "FULL" PEACE BUT WITH THE ATTACHMENT
OF THE NOTION THAT A FULL PEACE MUST BE COM-
PLETELY RECIPROCAL. "IF ISRAELIS CAN BUY LAND IN
THE ARAB WORLD, THE ARABS MUST BE ABLE TO BUY
LAND IN ISRAEL." ALSO SOMEWHAT NOVEL IN HIS
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IDEA THAT IF ARAB PEACE EFFORTS FRUSTRATED,
PALESTINIANS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORY SHOULD SEEK
THEIR FULL POLITICAL RIGHTS IN ISRAEL EVEN IF
ANNEXATION REQUIRED. THEY WOULD HAVE MORE
POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN THE LONG RUN TO DECIDE
THEIR OWN (AND ISRAEL'S) FATE IF THEY DID SO AND
THE WORLD GUARANTEED THOSE FULL RIGHTS. ON

PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION, HE BELIEVES THE ARAB LEADERS SHOULD PERSUADE THE PLO TO STAND ASIDE (AND BEHIND IF POSSIBLE) A DELEGATION OF PALESTINIAN ARABS REPRESENTING THE WEST BANK, GAZA AND EAST BANK PALESTINIANS. END SUMMARY

1. JORDAN'S PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, DR. HAZEM NUSEIBEH, ASKED AMBASSADOR TO CALL ON HIM TO DISCUSS A NUMBER OF IDEAS WHICH NUSEIBEH HAD DEVELOPED ON A WEST BANK PEACE AGREEMENT AND PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION.

2. NUSEIBEH, WHO SPOKE FROM PREPARED NOTES EMPHASIZED THAT POINTS WERE PERSONAL, BUT THAT HE WOULD MAKE THEM AVAILABLE TO ROYAL PALACE THIS WEEK. HE SAID HE WANTED AMBASSADOR TO HAVE THEM BEFORE SECRETARY'S TRIP.

3. ON WEST BANK PEACE, NUSEIBEH MADE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A) ISRAEL SHOULD WITHDRAW FROM WEST BANK, GAZA, AND ARAB JERUSALEM WHICH WOULD BECOME PALESTINIAN HOMELAND;

B) IF ISRAEL NOT WILLING TO DO THIS, A

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GENEVA WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS WOULD REQUIRE THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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ARABS START BY PRESENTING 1947 PARTITION PLAN AS POSITION SINCE IT ONLY APPROACH TO HAVE RECEIVED INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION AND WAS BASIS FOR ISRAEL'S ADMISSION TO UN;

C) (AFTER SOME DISCUSSION), HE SAID MINOR (RECIPROCAL) BORDER RECTIFICATION FROM 1967 ARE POSSIBLE;

D) ON ELEMENTS OF PEACE, COMPLETE RECIPROCITY WILL BE REQUIRED. THUS IF ISRAELIS WANT RIGHT TO DO BUSINESS IN ARAB WORLD, ARABS SHOULD HAVE COMPARABLE RIGHTS IN ISRAEL; DITTO FOR BUYING LAND. ON SETTLEMENTS, FOR A COMPLETE PEACE, SOME COULD STAY IN WEST BANK. ARABS SHOULD HAVE SOME COMPARABLE RIGHTS RE ARAB VILLAGES IN ISRAEL;

E) ON JERUSALEM, AREAS FORMALLY UNDER ARAB SOVEREIGNTY SHOULD BE RETURNED; CITY SHOULD BE OPEN, COOPERATIVELY ADMINISTERED BY ELECTED COUNCILMEN ON BOTH SIDES WITH FREE ACCESS, AND PROPORTIONATE CONTRIBUTIONS OF FUNDS TO CENTRAL SERVICES; TEDDY KOLLEK'S BOROUGH PROPOSAL MIGHT WORK; ARABS SHOULD BUY BACK BUILDINGS IN NEW JEWISH AREAS, JUST AS ISRAELIS SHOULD PAY FOR

COMPENSATED BUILDINGS OWNED BY ARABS PRE-1948
IN "JEWISH JERUSALEM". ARAB SOVEREIGNTY IN
FORMER ARAB AREAS MEANS ARAB POLICEMEN (NOT
ISRAELIS) IN ARAB AREAS, ARAB TAX STRUCTURE
AND ARAB ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION (NOT ISRAELI
SOCIALISM OR COMMUNALISM). FULL COOPERATION IS
ESSENTIAL, CITY COULD BE CAPITAL OF ISRAEL AND
OF PALESTINE. JEWISH QUARTER AND WAILING WALL
WOULD BE IN ISRAEL;

F) WEST BANK WOULD BE DEMILITARIZED AND
FOR UP TO TWO YEARS SECURITY WOULD BE IN INTER-
NATIONAL (UN?) HANDS. THERE CAN BE CANADIANS,
NIGERIANS, WHOMEVER THE ISRAELIS TRUST. HE WOULD
LIKE TO HAVE JORDANIAN FORCES GO BACK BUT SUCH IS
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INCOMPATIBLE WITH DEMILITARIZATION. AFTER
TWO-YEAR COOLING-OFF PERIOD LOCAL AUTHORITIES
WOULD TAKE OVER SECURITY.

G) WEST BANK AND GAZA LINKED BY A CORRIDOR
ASSURING FREE ACCESS, SUBJECT TO SUCH ISSUES AS
DEMILITARIZATION ARRANGEMENTS. WEST BANK MUST
HAVE MEDITERRANEAN OUTLET.

H) ALL PALESTINIANS SHOULD HAVE RIGHT TO
RETURN TO WEST BANK AND GAZA. UNSC RESOLUTION 194

SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED BUT IT WILL BE UNDERSTOOD THAT RIGHT
OF RETURN TO PRE-1967 ISRAEL WILL BE LIMITED AND COMPENSATION
FAVORED. ARABS SHOULD BE COMPENSATED FOR LOSS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY
IN PRE 1948 PALESTINE AND ALSO FOR ISRAEL'S TAKEOVER OF THEIR
RIGHTS IN FORMER "STATE DOMAIN" LANDS. THE LATTER COMPENSATION
COULD GO TO "PALESTINIAN" GOVERNMENT. JEWS EXPELLED FROM, OR
WHOSE LANDS WERE TAKEN, IN ARAB WORLD SHOULD ALSO BE COMPENSATED.
PALESTINIANS SHOULD NOT BE MADE TO PAY SUCH COMPENSATION FOR ACTS
COMMITTED BY ARABS OUTSIDE OF PALESTINE--A CENTRAL FUND SHOULD BE
SET UP TO DO SO BY SAUDIS AND OTHERS TO SUPPORT THE PEACE SETTLE-
MENT. IT WOULD HELP ENORMOUSLY IF ISRAEL WOULD GIVE FIRST PREF-
ERENCE TO RETURN OF SOME 250,000 GALILEAN "PEASANTS" NOW IN LEBANON.
IN PAST ISRAEL TALKED ABOUT TAKING BACK SOME 250,000 ARAB PALES-
TINIANS.

I) IN THE LONG RUN SOME RELATIONSHIP TO JORDAN IS ESSENTIAL AND
THE NEW ENTITY OR STATE IN THE WEST BANK SHOULD BE BUILT ON
THAT ASSUMPTION.

4. IF ALL ELSE FAILS AND ISRAEL IS ADAMANT ON NOT GIVING BACK
ARAB LAND IN WEST BANK AND GAZA, THEN ARABS IN PALESTINE SHOULD
INSIST ON ISRAELI ANNEXATION OF THE TERRITORY WITH A GRANT TO
ARABS OF ALL OF THEIR FULL ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN
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ISRAEL. THIS WOULD GIVE 1.3 MILLION ARABS ENORMOUS POLITICAL POWER IN ISRAEL AND THUS MIGHT HELP TO EVOLVE THE STATE TOWARD THE DEMOCRATIC, SECULAR STATE SO TALKED ABOUT. WORLD PUBLIC OPINION WOULD HAVE TO ENSURE THAT ARABS IN THE EXPANDED ISRAEL GOT AND KEPT THEIR RIGHTS.

5. PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION - NUSEIBEH SAID THAT NOW IS THE TIME TO CONVINCE THE PLO THAT PROGRESS IS IMPORTANT AND THAT THE PLO SHOULD GIVE. THIS IS THE TASK OF KING HALID, HAFEZ AL-ASAD AND OTHER ARAB LEADERS. THE PLO CANNOT FACE UP TO NEGOTIATIONS NOW. THE ARABS NEED TO HAVE SOME MEANS OF SOLVING THE PROBLEM. IT WOULD THUS BE BEST FOR TMI CO-CHAIRMAN TO INVITE "REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PALESTINIAN ARAB PEOPLE" TO COME TO GENEVA. IN ADVANCE THE ARAB LEADERS WOULD ENSURE THAT THE PLO WOULD ACCEPT THIS FORMULA, ARGUING THAT PLO SHOULD NOT BLOCK ARAB CHANCES TO ACHIEVE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL ON WEST BANK. NON-PLO PALESTINIANS WITH THE HELP OF THE OTHER ARAB LEADERS WOULD FIND THREE WEST BANKERS, THREE EAST BANK PALESTINIANS, AND THREE GAZANS TO REPRESENT THE PALESTINIAN ARABS. THE PLO SHOULD STAND ASIDE FROM, BUT BEHIND THESE REPRESENTATIVES WHO COULD GO EITHER AS A SEPARATE DELEGATION, PART OF A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION OR PART OF THE JORDANIAN DELEGATION. THE INVITATION TO THEM COULD BE DIRECT OR THROUGH THE OTHER ARAB STATES. IT COULD INCLUDE RECOGNITION OF 242/338 (AND THUS IMPLYING RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL) AS THE BASIS FOR THE INVITATION AND ATTENDANCE AT GENEVA. ACCEPTANCE OF THE INVITATION WOULD BE ACCEPTANCE OF THE "CONDITIONS" OF ATTENDANCE.

6. NUSEIBEH SAID IT WOULD BE HARD FOR THE PLO TO ACCEPT THIS, BUT NOT AS HARD AS THE TURMOIL (HE SAID "CIVIL WAR") THAT WOULD BE CREATED WITHIN THE PLO SHOULD IT ACCEPT DIRECTLY TO COME TO GENEVA. FINDING REPRESENTATIVES WOULD BE ANOTHER TOUGH PROBLEM, BUT THE ARAB LEADERS WOULD HAVE TO HELP ACTIVELY IN SOLVING BOTH PROBLEMS. ONCE THE ARAB LEADERS KNEW WHAT WAS POSSIBLE FROM SECRETARY VANCE, IT COULD BE WORKED OUT.

7. COMMENT: NUSEIBEH IS A STRONGLY PRE-HASHEMITE PALESTINIAN FROM
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AN OLD AND RESPECTED JERUSALEM FAMILY WITH STRONG ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS TO COMMENT EXTENSIVELY ON THE PROBLEM. HIS SUGGESTION THAT IF ALL ELSE IS FRUSTRATED, THE PALESTINIANS SHOULD TRY TO SECURE FULL RIGHTS IN ISRAEL AS A NEXT STEP IS UNUSUAL AND INTERESTING. REQUEST ADDRESSEES FULLY PROTECT NUSEIBEH WHO OBVIOUSLY SPEAKING PRIVATELY AND NOT ON BEHALF OF GOJ. IT IS NOT CERTAIN, BUT WE SUSPECT EVEN NORMALLY MODERATE GOJ SENIOR OFFICIALS SUCH AS

COURT CHIEF SHARAF WOULD COMMENT THAT NUSEIBEH GOES A BIT BEYOND
WHAT ARABS THINK IS REQUIRED, ESPECIALLY ON "NORMALIZATION" IDEAS.
NUSEIBEH IS SOMETHING OF AN EXPERT ON JERUSALEM, BY HIS OWN LIGHTS
AT LEAST, AND HIS APPROACH ON THIS POINT IS PROBABLY AS MODERATE
AS ANY ARAB COULD BE ASKED TO BE, AT THIS STAGE OF DISCUSSION AT
LEAST. HE IS CERTAINLY WELL BEYOND THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD IN TERMS
OF OUR EXPERIENCE, EVEN IN MODERATE JORDAN.
PICKERING

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